1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

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All traditions of the seclusion of children rest on an authentic custom, the memory of which has not been entirely lost. Both De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 81) and members of Gonzalez' expedition (90, p. 40) mention having seen huts where children were apparently secluded, guarded by adults.

FEAST HOUSE

A large house (*hare nui*) was built before a feast (*koro*) where young people gathered to play and sing. They lived in more or less promiscuity, and tradition says that they had many opportunities to make love and to have sexual intercourse. Foundations were laid for many marriages during the feast, but as evidenced by numerous tales, the feast houses were not for the young people only but for all invited guests. Routledge was told that the young people who shared in the dances had to be "white" (*ritorito*) which in Easter Island is almost synonymous with "fine." Routledge (194, p. 235) writes: "In connection with some or all of the *kaunga* (dancing grounds) there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order 'to get their complexions,' a touch which shows that a white skin was admired." In traditional records of *koro* some confusion may have arisen between the seclusion before the feast and the actual *koro*.

INITIATION RITES

When the children between the ages of 13 and 15 years were submitted to seclusion, rites were celebrated which had perhaps the character of a consecration. Little is known about these ceremonies, and their significance is obscure. The boys and girls who went through the ceremonies were termed *poki take* and *poki manu* (bird children). Routledge (194, p. 266) was told that the *take* ceremonies were dropped about 30 years before the arrival of the missionaries and that no living person had attended such a ceremony. The oldest man in the village when Routledge was there stated that the *take* ceremony was intended for adults and that the father performed the rites when the son was born. My information was obtained from Viriamo through Tepano. She said that boys and girls were sent to Motu-nui when they were 13 years of age. They sojourned on the island for three months, living in separate caves. Food was taken to them in canoes, and ornaments (*tahonga*, wooden balls) and special breechcloths of tapa called *hami mama* were sent them by their parents. The children were given red and white ocher (*kiea* and *marikuru*) for the painting of their bodies. White bands were painted around the arms and feet, concentric white circles on the back at the level of the waist, and two white rings on the buttocks.

The ceremony following seclusion was called *te manu mo ta poki* (the bird for the child). I could discover no better explanation of this feast and its benefit than that given by Routledge, which is vague and probably incor-

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down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Anatetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584

A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te hunonga ma taana poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

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[583] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-
585 derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a
[177] Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families.
[583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song
[533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either
439 of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one
648 or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building
135 materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the
342 supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has
[596] resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no
648 difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the